

## Message Text

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ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

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FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7676

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION UN

USDOCOSOUTH

EUCOM

S E C R E T NICOSIA 1694

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT PINS CY

SUBJECT: MAKARIOS SPURNS GRIVASISTS BLACKMAIL THREAT

SUMMARY: AUGUST 3 PAPERS FEATURE GRIVASIST NOTE LISTING FIVE DEMANDS AS CONDITIONS RELEASE OF VAKIS AND CESSATION GRIVASIST ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES. ARCHBISHOP CATEGORICALLY REJECTED THESE DEMANDS REITERATING REFUSAL TO YIELD TO ANY BLACKMAIL. EXTREMELY TENSE PERIOD ANTICIPATED. END SUMMARY.

1. AUG 3 PAPERS HIGHLIGHT TYPEWRITTEN EOKA-B NOTE, ISSUED IN GRIVAS NAME AND DATED AUG 1. WHICH SURFACED IN LIMASSOL YESTERDAY. FULL TEXT AS FOLLOWS: "TO THE PRES OF THE CYPRUS REPUBLIC AND THE CYPRUS GOVT. THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE WAS ABDUCTED BY US. I REGRET I HAD TO RESORT TO THIS MEASURE TO MAKE YOU UNDERSTAND THAT I AM DETERMINED TO GO AHEAD BY ALL MEANS IN ORDER TO PURSUE THE ATTAINMENT OF THE FOLLOWING REASONABLE DEMANDS, THE FRUIT OF BLOODY STRUGGLES OF THE PEOPLE SO THAT THEY CAN LIVE IN FREEDOM, SECRET

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EUQUALITY AND JUSTICE, AND THE RESPECT FOR THE HOLY CANONS OF THE CHURCH. 1. POLITICAL FREEDOMS TO BE GRANTED TO THE GREEK CYPRIOT PEOPLES SO THAT THEY CAN EXPRESS FREELY AND WITHOUT FORCE THEIR WILL ON THE NATIONAL ISSUE. NO ONE HAS THE RIGHT

TO IMPOSE A SOLUTION WITH THE PEOPLE IN ABSENTIA. 2. GENUINE ELECTIONS TO BE HELD FOR A PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC. 3. THE PRESENT PRESIDENT TO CHOOSE BETWEEN CHURCH AND POLITICS. 4. A GENERAL AMNESTY TO BE GRANTED FOR ALL POLITICAL CONVICTS AND ALL POLITICAL DETAINEES TO BE RELEASED. 5. ALL DISMISSED POLICE-MEN AND OTHER PUBLIC SERVANTS TO BE REINSTATED. IF THE ABOVE DEMANDS ARE ACCEPTED, THE MINISTER MR VAKIS WILL BE RELEASED AND WE SHALL SUSPEND OUR ACTIVITIES AND SHALL SUBMIT TO THE WILL OF THE CYP PEOPLE. IF THEY ARE NOT WE ARE DETERMINED TO CARRY ON REGARDLESS OF SACRIFICES AND YOU WILL BEAR RESPONSIBILITY FOR WHAT WILL ENSUE. G. GRIVAS DIGHENIS."

2. STATEMENT RELEASED BY PIO THIS NOON IN NAME OF ARCHBISHOP WAS EXTRAORDINARILY HARSH AND EXPLICIT. ARCHBISHOP USED STRONGEST LANGUAGE IN EMBASSYS MEMORY CONCERNING GRIVAS, STRIKING AT HEART OF GENERALS "PHILOTIMO." CALLED VAKIS KID-NAPPING "BLACK STAIN OF DISHONOR" IN APGES OF GREEK HISTORY. MAKARIOS CATEGORICALLY REJECTED GRIVAS CONDITIONS, REITERATING HIS DETERMINATION NOT TO GIVE INTO BLACKMAIL, NOT TO ACCEPT OR EVEN DISCUSS ANY BLACKMAIL TERMS FROM GRIVAS. CALLING ACQUIESCENCE IN BLACKMAIL AN INCITEMENT TO "LAW OF JUNGLE," MAKARIOS RHETORICALLY ASKED WHAT FUTURE WOULD HOLD FOR CYPRUS IF ANOTHER (\*) INSANE PERSON, "USING SIMILAR CRIMINAL METHODS, CAME FORWARD TO LAY DOWN TERMS TO IMPOSE HIS VIEWS." MAKARIOS DENIED GRIVAS EXPRESSES WILL OF PEOPLE, POINTED OUT GRIVAS DWELLS IN HIDEOUT DIRECTING CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES. TAUNTED GRIVAS BY SAYING HE LACKS COURAGE TO APPEAR BEFORE PEOPLE. NOTED GRIVAS APPARENTLY SEEKS IDENTIFY END OF HIS LIFE WITH "DESTRUCTION" OF CYPRUS, BUT REITERATED THAT GOC AND PEOPLE WILL NOT ALLOW THIS. DENYING ANY CONCERN FOR PERSONAL SAFETY (DESPITE "GRIVAS ASSASSINATION PLANS AGAINST ME"), ARCHBISHOP SAID HE WOULD NOT HESITATE SACRIFICE LIFE IN DEFENSE FREEDOM AND RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE OF CYPRUS.

3. PIO (CHRISTOUDOULO) TOLD AMBASSADOR THAT GOC DOES NOT EXPECT VAKIS TO BE KILLED, BUT DOES EXPECT FURTHER "DESPERATE ACTION" BY GRIVAS. IN THIS CONNECTION COMMUNIST HARAVGHI  
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TODAY PREDICTS FURTHER ABDUCTIONS OF LEADERS, ESPECIALLY AKEL SEC GEN PAPAIOANNOU. BEFORE BLACKMAIL LETTER, MININT ANASTASSIOU HAD TOLD US IN CONFIDENCE OF INTELLIGENCE TO SAME EFFECT, SAID THAT IF GRIVASISTS TOOK ON COMMUNISTS, THEIR INTENT WOULD BE TO LIGHT POWDER KEG, PLUNGE CYPRUS INTO SUCH TURMOIL AS TO JUSTIFY GREEK INTERVENTION. (ANASTASSIOU IS REGULARLY VERY SUSPICIOUS OF ATHENS.) CHRISTOUDOULO ALSO SPOKE DARKLY OF GRIVAS DESIGN TO PROMOTE ATHENS INTERVENTION.

4. CHRISTOUDOULO SAYS ATHENS MUST ARRANGE TO CONTROL OR REMOVE HIM FROM ISLAND, BUT CLAIMED GOC WOULD NOT ASK IT TO DO SO. DISCLAIMED ANY EFFORT BY EITHER GREEK AMB OR ARCHBISHOP TO SEE EACH OTHER.

5. CHRISTOUDOULOU TOLD AMBASSADOR THAT EFFORT WOULD NOT RPT NOT BE MADE TO ARREST GRIVAS. MINUTES LATER, IN PUBLIC PRESS CONFERENCE, CHRISTOUDOULOU REFUSED TO ANSWER SAME QUESTION, ON SECURITY GROUNDS.

6. BRITISH HICOMM TOLD DATT AUGUST 2 THAT NAT GUARD COMMANDER HAD INFORMED HIM THAT MAKARIOS HAD ASKED HIM USE GUARD TO HELP ROUND UP GRIVAS SUPPORTERS. COMMANDER REPORTEDLY REFUSED ON GROUNDS GUARD SO FRAGMENTED POLITICALLY THAT ATTEMPT USE IT THIS WAY WOULD RESULT IN GUARDS TOTAL DISINTEGRATION. COMMANDER TOLD MAKARIOS THAT IF ORDERED EMPLOY GUARD, HE WOULD WITHDRAW ALL GREEK OFFICERS ASSIGNED HERE. IN DESCRIBING ABOVE INTERVIEW TO BRITS, COMMANDER ADDED HE UNDER EXPLICIT INSTRUCTIONS FROM ATHENS NOT RPT NOT INVOLVE GUARD IN DOMESTIC POLITICS.

7. COMMENT: BASED ON CONTENT AND STYLE, GRIVASIST NOTE INDEED APPEARS GENUINE BUT NOT NECESSARILY FROM GENERAL HIMSELF (PRESS PICTURES SHOW NOTE UNSIGNED).

8. GRIVAS NOTE APPEARS BE DIRECT RESPONSE TO GAUNTLET THROWN DOWN IN ARCHBISHOPS JULY 28 STATEMENT ON VAKIS ABDUCTION AND JULY 31 PRESS CONFERENCE, AND TO CONTINUING GOC SECURITY SWEEPS AND PURGES. CONCEIVABLY GRIVAS INTENDED FORESTALL FURTHER ARRESTS AND SACKINGS HIS SYMPATHIZERS BY BALD THREAT TO CONTINUE ANTI REGIME VIOLENCE, BUT MAKARIOS IS IN NO MOOD TO PLAY THIS GAME.

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9. BLACKMAIL THREAT IS IMPLICIT RATHER THAN DIRECT (GRIVAS DID NOT THREATEN TO KILL VAKIS IF ULTIMATUM NOT ACCEPTED.) WE BELIEVE THAT DEATH OF VAKIS WOULD SEND THRILL OF REVULSION THROUGH GREEK COMMUNITY AND PERMANENTLY IMPAIR GRIVAS STANDING. IF AS WE ASUME ARCHBISHOP HAS REACHED SAME CONCLUSION, HE WILL PROBABLY STAND FIRM AND REFUSE ANY CONCESSIONS.

10. NOTE PRESENTS GOG WITH REAL DILEMMA AND WE EXPECT MAKARIOS WILL EXPLOIT IT IN EFFORT PUSH ATHENS TAKE UNAMBIGUOUS STANCE ON GOC SIDE IN PRESENT INTERNECINE STRUGGLE, AND TO REIN IN OR REMOVE GRIVAS.

11. EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT FOREBODING SPECULATION PARA 3 CONCERNING GRIVAS INTENTIONS MAY POSSIBLY BE CORRECT. EVEN IF GRIVAS INTENT NOT SO OMINOUS, WE THINK HE WILL REACT TO ARCHBISHOPS PERSONAL INVECTIVE. WE EXPECT TROUBLE.  
END COMMENT.

MC CLOSKEY

SECRET

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